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LETTER

TO THE

Inhabitants of Great Britain.

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TO THE

Inhabitants of Great Britain:

OCCASIONED BY

MR. WAKEFIELD'S

REPLY

TO SOME PARTS OF THE

Biſhop of Landaff's Addreſs.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR; AND SOLD BY
R. FAULDER, NEW BOND STREET.

1798.

LETTER

TO THE

Inhabitants of Great Britain, *&c. &c.*

FROM the moment in which this extraordinary publication made its appearance, I determined to endeavour the counteraction of its treaſonable deſigns, by expoſing the miſrepreſentations, and perverted reaſonings moſt unfairly made uſe of to accompliſh them. I confeſs to you that I then regarded the book rather as an object of legiſlative indignation, than of literary diſpute; and I have ſince had the ſatisfaction to find that it has not eſcaped the vigilant attention of our Government.

The paſſages which I ſhall have occaſion to notice, contain ſo little novelty, in point

of argument, that, had my objections been confined to theſe, I would not have engaged in the controverſy: but they are here to be conſidered, not as the end and purpoſe of the work, but merely as the means made uſe of to attain that end—than which a more ſcandalous never belied the pretentions of the patriot, inſulted the feelings of ſociety, or diſgraced the reputation of letters.

Britons! you are, in this work, perſuaded, undiſguiſedly perſuaded to bow with coward-heart to the tyranny of French conquerors; to yield up your treaſures and your fields; to place your hopes on the "ſubverſion of your government by foreign or "domeſtic violence;"[1] and to regard the "confuſion of *any* change as deſirable,"[2] and conducive to your advantage! You are told, indeed, that theſe inclinations are the reſult of your ignorance and depravity,[3] yet, ignorant and depraved, as Mr. W. may conſider you, he ſeems to wiſh you ſtill more ſo: he would

[1] page 7. [2] page 36. [3] page 35.

not

not otherwiſe have employed himſelf in compoſing the pages in which he labours to confirm and increaſe that diſpoſition, which he ſuppoſes to be the conſequence. This is not all: by every art of rhetorick, by miſapplication of language, by the erection of falſe, and the diſtortion of juſt poſitions, he villifies, not more your government, than yourſelves; and then heightens the ſhadow into which he has caſt you by contraſted praiſes not only of the French Republic, of the *Grande Nation*, but of the merit of its individual members. I would not judge uncharitably, but if the words he has uſed mean any thing, they appear to me to hold out invitations to our enemies, by the hopes of eaſy conqueſt; and to aim at the repreſſion of your efforts of reſiſtance, by implanting in your minds a dread of Gallic bravery, and a want of confidence in your own. Let us examine the arguments in which theſe attempts are developed and ſupported.

Page 4. "Our minds are inevitably and "imperceptibly influenced by the contact of "ſurrounding circumſtances; and our con-

" victions and our reaſonings can no more
" eſcape the aſſociations conſequent on ex-
" ternal ſtation, than our bodily conſtitu-
" tions can refuſe to ſympathize with the
" climate and the atmoſphere in which we
" live."

Mr. W. hence infers, that he is more likely to judge truly on the ſubject in queſtion, namely, the intereſts of the people of Great Britain, than the Biſhop of Landaff. Mr. W. does not queſtion the talents of the Prelate, but conſiders his ſituation and rank in ſociety as deciſive of his incapacity to reaſon correctly in matters of this nature. It is extraordinary that Mr. W. did not perceive that whatever cogency may be attached to the remark, the truth of which, I believe, no one will queſtion, it cannot do more toward invalidating the teſtimony of the Biſhop than that of himſelf. After laying down a general maxim as invariably true — not of individuals but of human nature itſelf, by what nice diſtinctions does Mr. W. releaſe himſelf from an influence and thraldom ſo inevitable, and ſo binding? Is not Mr. W. equally expoſed to

" the

" the contact of ſurrounding circumſtances," and is he not equally ſuſceptible? The paſſenger at the foot of the mountain, is as incapable as him on its ſummit, of obſerving its relative importance with the general landſcape. Locality deceives both: and it is only by experience and knowledge, acquirments within the reach of either, that the deluſion can be done away. More might be ſaid on this ſubject, if, indeed, a propoſition ſo ſimple required it; but Mr. W. has rendered this unneceſſary, for he immediately proceeds to depict, in ſtrong colours, the different ſituations of himſelf, and the author of the Addreſs. He premiſes that, by an alteration in the government, the Biſhop would looſe, not only his preſent poſſeſſions, but his future proſpects; and he then enquires, " What are the hopes and fears of " an humble citizen like myſelf?" After ſtating the grievances to which he is now expoſed, (among which I find " popular op- " probium" particularized — a dreadful evil, indeed, owing I ſuppoſe to your ignorance and depravity, but in what manner the ſtate is anſwerable for it, I am at a loſs to determine)

termine)—after a long liſt, I ſay, of evils, conſequent on the preſent ſtate of things, he proceeds to aſk, "what would accrue "from a ſubverſion of the government by "foreign or domeſtic violence?" Notwithſtanding the profeſſed object of this examination was to aſcertain his *hopes* and his fears, he guardedly avoids any detail of the former — but, a few lines farther, again alludes to "diſtant and precarious *hopes*, from "a change of ſyſtem!" Muſt I go on to ſhew that our reply cannot be decidedly in his favour, when he aſks, "Which then of the "two is more likely to pronounce a right "judgment?"— for the prejudices of both

——————— equal appear,
While one is placed in hope and one in fear.
POPE.

Will any rational mind doubt that "the aſſo-"ciations conſequent on external ſtation," act as ſtrongly upon Mr. W. as on any one elſe?

I will beg leave to ſuggeſt one or two reaſons why, as a general queſtion, the Biſhop

ſhop has a better claim to the reputation of independence than Mr. W. I ſpeak, not of their private characters, but of their conditions. I know that it is popular to repreſent the rich as more ſervile, and more ſlaviſhly attached to private intereſts than the lower claſſes of ſociety.—I believe juſt the contrary, I argue on the nature and qualities of the mind. There is in it a *trait*, which the moſt ſuperficial reaſoning will diſcover, and daily experience confirm. It is this: We are more anxious to obtain, than careful to preſerve. In the firſt caſe, every energy of the ſoul is in action: in the ſecond, there is a ſupineneſs, a forgetfulneſs. In the former there is a ſedulous attention to our intereſts: in the latter, an indolent diſregard of them. We are more inclined to neglect the means of perpetuating our good fortune, than to forget the hope of obtaining it. Unacquainted with, or forgetting the preſſure of want, we can talk, more heroically of braving its hardſhips, and defying its malignity. He who is perpetually on the verge of it, whom it ſtares daily in the face, knows too well its horrible features. Poſſeſſed of a portion of luxu-

ry,

ry, we are apt to remit in our exertions to obtain more, and delighted with the bowl while we preſs it to our lips, we do not trouble ourſelves about the means of ſecuring a repetition of the draught. The rich man, I contend, is more likely than the poor, to forget his own intereſts and to reaſon on general topics unbiaſſed by private feelings. The dread of danger is not ſo powerful an *impetus* as the hope of good. The firſt we are always inclined to diſbelieve: the latter we conſtantly wiſh to confirm, and, if it is fallacious, we are unwilling to be convinced of the deception. It is alſo to be remembered that, the mind under eaſy circumſtances, is better qualified to form true concluſions, than is the reſtleſs and perturbed imagination of diſcontent.

Page 12. "Abſtractedly conſidered, it is "a juſt and wiſe meaſure to raiſe within the "year the expences of that year; and if this "equitable plan had always been found ne-"ceſſary, ſo many horrible wars would not "have been carried on, nor would poſterity "have groaned under the criminal oppreſ-

"ſions

" ſions of their ſanguinary anceſtors. But " this meaſure was not adopted by Mr. Pitt " either for its wiſdom, or its juſtice; but " becauſe the funding ſcheme can be purſued " no longer, from an abſolute inability to " raiſe the ſupplies of the year by any tax " that can be impoſed on an impoveriſhed " and diſcontented people."

Mr. W. allows the meaſure to be " juſt " and wiſe." He quarrels with it, however, becauſe it was not practiſed before, and unable to find fault with the proceeding, he directs his attack on the motive: the ſingularity of this cannot eſcape notice: the miniſter finding an abſolute inability to raiſe the ſupplies of the year by *any* tax, reſolves to triple the ſum formerly procured! If this is truly the caſe, his ſucceſs will not afflict his enemies. Mr. W. notices this ſubject but, apparently, only to give opportunity for invective.

Page 14. " Suppoſe now, *my* income to " be two hundred pounds, and his two thou- " ſand pounds. I with my *ſix* children can " furniſh ourſelves with no more than the

" actual neceſſaries of food, raiment, and ha-
" bitation, with our reſources. Take from
" me a tenth part of this income, and you
" diſtreſs me beyond deſcription: exact from
" him in the ſame proportion, and you abridge
" nothing but extravagant ſuperfluity, or im-
" moderate accumulation. He has his re-
" medy in retrenchment without the loſs of
" a ſingle comfort."

There is in this paſſage a trap for popular approbation, which, as it is formed of precious and common-place miſrepreſentation, can reflect little credit on the philoſophic character of its author.

The ſame diſadvantageous compariſon may always be made between unequal fortunes. Surely we are not to argue here upon the advantages of wealth. Suppoſe the decimal reduction out of the queſtion — there is ſtill a conſiderable difference in the income: yet it is not proved that in the poſſeſſion of the larger there is any crime or impropriety; neither is it proved, and this is of more conſequence to you, that it is capable of conferring

a larger

a larger ſhare of happineſs. He is a better friend to the community, though, his doctrine may not be ſo popular, who tells it, and he ſpeaks truly, that "riches and poverty are "relative terms." They apply equally in the compariſon of five pounds to five hundred and five hundred pounds to fifty thouſand. Remember too that one man may be poorer with twenty thouſand pounds a year, than another with one hundred. This is owing to the different habits of life, and different occaſions of expenditure. Theſe obſervations may not be ſo congenial with your feelings, as thoſe which have of late been induſtriouſly circulated among you, but, if you will give yourſelves time to reflect, I am ſure you will acknowledge their truth. Be not duped, my countrymen: were the object gained for which theſe men excite you, no advantage will reſult to *you* — you may be made the inſtrument of transfering the inſignia of power from one hand to another; and changing the titles of the adminiſtrators of your government — but man, in one point of view, will remain tne ſame under every conſtitution.

It is a favourite idea with our modern philoſophers that an alteration in the form of government will improve the intellects, and conſequently the diſpoſitions of men. The progreſs of knowledge only can do this, and the government is no farther implicated in the queſtion than as it accelerates or retards that progreſs. Some governments have retarded: they have endeavoured to ſtifle it. Does yours do this? The ſafeguard of ſcience is the freedom of the preſs, and you have daily proofs of the exiſtence of that liberty. A liberty which, to adopt the language of the day, is certainly one of the *unalienable rights of man.* One of the arts uſed to miſlead you is this: the errors and deformities of other governments are blended in declamation againſt your own.—Returning to the paſſage I have quoted from Mr. W's book I muſt obſerve that though it may ſometimes happen, it does not neceſſarily follow that, in reducing the income of the wealthy you abridge "nothing but extravagant ſuperfluity, "or immoderate accmulations." Neither is it true that "the higher orders feel no incon- "venience from the preſſure." Page. 16.

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The glitter attendant on the elevated claſſes of ſociety, hides from the envious, too prejudiced to diſcern nicely, the long train of evils, of cares, and, in many caſes, ſuperior wretchedneſs, that await them. Theſe things equalize mankind: and it is unbecoming the man of enlightened underſtanding to aſſiſt the deception that ignorance created; and to ſanction by his talents, the ſuppoſed reality of the phantom that diſtreſſes their imagination.

Bishop of Landaff's Address.

"When all the members of a commu-
"nity are proportionably reduced, the rela-
"tion between the individuals, as to the
"*quantum* of each man's property, remaining
"unaltered, the individuals themſelves will
"feel no elevation or depreſſion in the ſcale
"of ſociety. When all the foundations of
"a great building ſink uniformly, the ſym-
"metry of the parts is not injured; the
"preſſure on each member remains as it
"was; no rupture is made; the building

"will

" will not be ſo lofty, but it may ſtand on " a better bottom." Page 3.

Mr. W. in reply amuſes himſelf, and very poſſibly ſome of his readers with a few of the cant expreſſions of the day. The merit of retailing the caſt-off *bon-mots* of newſpapers, is but little. I ſhould not, however, have complained, but that, abſorbed in merriment, he has forgotten the taſk he had begun, and inſtead of pointing out the defects of a very juſt compariſon, he recovers himſelf only to vent unqualified abuſe. In what other terms can I ſpeak of his railing, when he takes upon him to ſay that " our ſuperiors ſee the misfortunes of " the times with unalloyed glee, and their " *cuſtomary* unconcern." There is an illiberality in theſe expreſſions that would render reply as diſgraceful on my part, as the uſe of them is on his. The biſhop's compariſon is undeniably true: the people are the baſis of the political ſtructure; its ſtrength; its ſupport; its foundation; if they ſink, the upper ſtories, deprived o their ſupport, muſt ſink too.

Mr. W.

Mr. W. Page 19. " But without much re-
" troſpective diſputation, I moſt peremptorily
" deny, that a fair trial has been made of
" the diſpoſition of the enemy; and I aſſert
" in the moſt unqualified language, and upon
" the immovable aſſurance of human feel-
" ing, that no enemy whatſoever, ſimilarly
" circumſtanced with the French, could be
" expected to diſcover a conciliatory diſpoſi-
" tion towards the negotiators on the late
" occaſion. Now this is a very principal
" and intereſting topic, and well worthy a
" more minute examination, as involving
" moſt materially the main queſtion of *juſ-*
" *tice* and *neceſſity*, as to the point under
" contemplation."

" Let us ſee then, without claiming any
" extraordinary powers of penetration to
" ourſelves, whether it be not eaſy to ſug-
" geſt ſeveral ſtrong preſumptive arguments
" to evince, that miniſters not only *were*
" not ſincere, but in the nature of things,
" morally ſpeaking, could not *poſſibly* be
" ſincere, in their overtures for peace: and
" ſuch arguments, as I truſt, will apply

" with

" with irreſiſtible cogency to plain uncor-
" rupted underſtandings."

" 1. The acknowledged character of
" the two miniſterial leaders, one in each
" houſe of parliament, for every thing that
" is ſelf-opinionated, arrogant, audacious,
" defamatory, and deſpotical, renders in
" them a ſincere application for peace to
" men whom they have inceſſantly holden
" up to univerſal deteſtation as the moſt hor-
" rible of monſters, all but an *actual im-*
" *poſſibility*."

In the firſt part of this paſſage, it is ſaid that the French could not be expected to diſcover a conciliatory diſpoſition. As it is the conſtant practice of ſuch of our country as eſpouſe the cauſe of the Republic, to defend what it *has* done, rather than run the riſk of ſaying what it ſhould, or ſhould not, do, we may fairly conclude from this expreſſion, that Mr. W. is convinced that they did *not* diſcover that conciliatory diſpoſition. On the contrary, Mr. W. conceives, that " no
" enemy ſimilarly circumſtanced, could be ex-
" pected

" pected to do ſo." What theſe circumſtances were, Mr. W. has not informed us, and we ſhall be obliged, perhaps, to reſort to a moral obſervation if we wiſh to ſolve the difficulty. It has been charged upon mankind that they hate thoſe they have injured: and that their animoſity is commenſurate with the extent of their crime. If this be true, any one who will give himſelf the trouble to recollect the conduct of the Republic towards us, and particularly at the commencement of the war, notwithſtanding their acknowledgment of the ſtrict neutrality we had preſerved, will find ſufficient reaſon for that want of conciliatory diſpoſition which is attributed to them by Mr. W. Admitting this grand obſtacle to pacification to have reſted with the Directory, it does not appear that the ſincerity of our Miniſters forms ſo principal a part of the queſtion as Mr. W. ſtates it to be; nor that it is in any degree deciſive of the *juſtice* and *neceſſity* of continuing the war. Our Author proceeds however to ſuggeſt " ſeveral " ſtrong preſumptive arguments that Mini- " ſters not only *were* not ſincere, but in the " nature of things, morally ſpeaking, could not

" *poſſibly* be ſincere." And here, to ſupport his cauſe, he takes the liberty of exalting individual and partial opinion, into general and *acknowledged* truth. Arguing from ſuch premiſes, every conſequence that may reſult from them muſt follow the fate of its origin; and the whole, therefore, vaniſhes from the minds of thoſe who think differently on the ſubject.

Page 21. " The intereſt of our corrupt " and guilty Miniſters is *prolonged war*."

I wiſh Mr. W. had taken the trouble to ſupport this aſſertion, by explaining to us what intereſt Miniſters can poſſibly have in prolonging the war. The charge is ſo contrary to every analogy of reaſoning that it ought not to have been haſtily made, nor abandoned to ſeek by itſelf the credence of mankind. Some intereſt ſhould have been pointed out as ſufficient to counteract all thoſe which are commonly ſuppoſed to govern human actions. It ſhould have been ſhewn that the riſk of office, the loſs of popularity, were nothing in compariſon with this faſcinating

motive.

motive. Was it Mr. Pitt's intereſt, at a time when his ambition centered in the reduction of the national debt, to incur new expences? Is it not rather to be ſuppoſed that he ſedulouſly avoided whatever might thwart his favorite ſcheme, and defeat his purpoſe? I will quit this ſubject, leaving to your conſideration a paſſage quoted from "*Remarks on* "*the conduct of Oppoſition*:" "If private "gain be an object with any member of the "cabinet, war, which hazards his place, "can add nothing to his emolument. In "the hour of victory, they only ſhare that "exultation which every Engliſhman feels "in the triumphant valour of his countrymen. Every circumſtance and accident "which thwarts the public hope, is imputed to their want of judgment or honeſty. "The diſcomfiture of foreign armies, the de"fection of allies, the general puſillanimity "of Europe, the weight of taxes, the very "misfortunes and inclemency of ſeaſon, are "laid upon our miniſter as matters of accuſa"tion and grounds of diſgrace. No man of "a wiſe and honourable or prudent mind "could endure ſuch unmerited odium for

" a ſordid accumulation of riches, by a wanton
" prolongation of war. But it would be ab-
" ſolute madneſs if he were to plunge him-
" ſelf, as our cabinet muſt do, into ſuch dif-
" ficulties, for the ſole purpoſe of enriching
" contractors and clerks, who are not ſo
" much as known *to him* by name."

Page 21. Beſides, is it to be endured that, our
" infatuation and intrigues ſhall force Hol-
" land into a cruſade againſt her intereſt, de-
" liver her up to an enraged enemy; and
" then, from ſuperabundant kindneſs ſtrip
" her of all the means of reſtoration to pro-
" ſperity, her foreign ſettlements, and retain
" them, truly! for our own aggrandiſement?
" France will deſerve all the invectives,
" which the untameable tongue of Lord
" Grenville has poured on her, if ſhe does
" not oppoſe ſuch ſwindling perfidy at the
" riſk even of her own exiſtence."

A ſimple ſtatement of the facts which are here rather poetically than accurately alluded to may be comprized in few words. Holland was engaged with the continental pow-

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ers in oppoſing the deſigns of France. She afterward received the French army, to the excluſion of the Stadtholder, and became the decided enemy of Great Britain. Under theſe circumſtances it is difficult to diſcover why the conqueſt of her ſettlements is denominated "ſwindling perfidy:" neither does the charge of having ſtripped "her of all the "means of reſtoration to proſperity," accord with the declarations of our imbecility and incapacity ſo frequent in this pamphlet, and, indeed, in all others of the ſame deſcription.

The laſt ſentence of this paragragh needs no comment. The plunderers of Italy are certainly the very fitteſt perſons in the world to be the avengers of this ſuppoſed injuſtice. The Directory, however, will, doubtleſs, be grateful for a hint ſo uſeful. Pretexts for their rapacity muſt always be acceptable: and their approbation may make ſome amends to the author for having merited and received the curſes of his country.

Page 22. "2. The eſtabliſhed conduct "of theſe miniſters conſtitutes an indubita-

"ble

" ble proof of their ill faith in this tranſac-
" tion."

Theſe words begin a torrent of declamatory invective againſt the conduct of Miniſters. Of the charges it contains, a full idea will be formed from the following ſpecimen.

" The death of a fellow creature is no
" more to them than the fall of an autumnal
" leaf in the pathleſs deſert."

It is impoſſible Mr. W. can believe what he has here aſſerted. Theſe flowery expreſſions may be admired in works of fancy, but they ſhould have no place where full credence is expected.

From premiſes like theſe Mr. W. infers that Miniſters were not deſirous of peace. Arguments ſo vague, however, convince no one, nor do they require the aid of contradiction to expoſe their futility.

Page 24. " 3. Again: to diſcard from
" view every other conſideration, the mini-
" ſters

" ſters muſt have expected, that the French,
" whom they have regarded as *worſe* than
" *brutes*, would prove themſelves *more* than
" *men*, if they preſumed on a cordial nego-
" tiation on the part of the Republic, with
" an adverſary who had ſo reviled her, and
" to whom ſhe juſtly referred, as their ulti-
" mate original, thoſe unparalleled calamities
" that had deſolated her country with floods
" of ſlaughter."

It is remarkable that theſe arguments adduced for the avowed purpoſe of proving that the continuation of the war is owing to the inſincerity of Adminiſtration, turn almoſt entirely, on juſtifications of hoſtility on the part of the Directory. It is of no importance to the preſent queſtion by what cauſes this inamicable temper is produced. The point to be conſidered here is that, if the French did not join in " candid and honeſt intercourſe" the diſpoſitions of our Miniſters were of little importance ; and were they even proved, in contradiction to all probability, to have been averſe from peace and its bleſſings, ſtill it would not appear that the failure is imputable to them,

ſince

ſince none "but ideots could expect a candid "and honeſt intercourſe in ſuch a negociation, "on the part of the French Republic,"* I am as much aſtoniſhed at Mr. W's morality as his politics. I did not expect to hear the philoſopher, "the unwearied aſſertor of Chriſtianity "in his writings, and his life,"† ſo boldly attack the very baſis of virtue and ſocial happineſs, by admitting that *any* circumſtances can place perſons in ſuch ſituations that none "but IDEOTS ſhould expect a CANDID and "HONEST intercourſe" with them. I ſhould have ſuppoſed that Mr. W. had conſidered this as an abſtract queſtion, of which he would have ſaid, that let our ſituation be what it may, it is our duty to be CANDID and HONEST. My CANDOUR, however, leads me to think ſo favourably of Mr. W. that I will not believe he would ever have countenanced a doctrine ſo unjuſtifiable, if it had not been neceſſary for the ſupport of his political opinions.

Although, as I have already ſaid, it is not neceſſary on this occaſion to diſcuſs the

* Page 24. † Page 7.

cauſes

cauſes of this Republican animoſity, nor the arguments that are produced to defend it, becauſe unconnected with the queſtion, which is, plainly, "Were the French willing to "conclude a peace?" — Yet will I detain your attention one moment, while I obſerve that in order to give any force to the reaſoning, we muſt ſuppoſe, that, on all other occaſions, generally ſpeaking, perſons and ſtates, quarrel without being angry with each other; endeavour to overcome without wounding; and to deſtroy without offending. Whereas the univerſal cauſe of all warlike contention is, the real or ſuppoſed injury committed by one, or both, of the parties ſo contending. In like manner it is eſſential to peace and reconciliation that theſe injuries be, at leaſt nominally and apparently, forgotten. This, in the very act, therefore, of negotiation, we *tacitly* propoſed to do. Mr. W. rightly ſuppoſes that this pacific inclination was not felt by France, he imagines her ſtill brooding over her injuries, real or ſuppoſed, and he contends that none but ideots could expect otherwiſe. In all this, what does Mr. W. labour to prove? Is it not that the French

prevented the accompliſhment of peace? As to the reſt, what object has he in view, but to defend this conduct, and to encourage their perſeverance in it? This is the third "ſtrong preſumptive argument," by which Mr. W. evinces to you that Miniſters were ſincere!

Page 25. "4. The re-appointment of "Lord Malmeſbury to that negotiation was "in itſelf a groſs inſult to the French na- "tion: and, as ſuch, an indubitable ſymp- "tom of inſincerity on the part of the Engliſh "miniſters."

To this it is ſufficient to reply, that no hint of this nature has been given by the Directory; nor ought we to ſuppoſe that men of common underſtanding, would ſacrifice the intereſts of their people to a conſideration ſo trifling. I am a decided enemy to all thoſe punctilios by which conciliation is ſo often retarded, but, if it were proved that any thing of this ſort operated on the minds of the French, and if ſuch feeling be juſtified in them, I do not ſee how it is poſſible by analogous reaſoning, to ſhew that it would not

equally

equally become an Engliſh boſom. I ſhall not proceed on this ſubject, becauſe I believe it to be a matter of perfect indifference.

Page 26. " 5. The tyrannical temper " and the violent meaſures of the preſent ad- " miniſtration, exemplified by a tranſgreſ- " ſion of the liberal policy of our anceſtors, " and the confeſſed principles of conſtitu- " tional freedom in ſuch numerous and mo- " mentous inſtances, form ſo great a con- " traſt to the free energies of republican " equality, as will not allow me to ſuppoſe " for a ſingle moment, that Mr. Pitt and his " colleagues, entertained a ſincere wiſh of a " hearty reconciliation and friendly inter- " courſe with the French government, &c.

Mr. W. has here indulged himſelf in abuſe and invective againſt both our conſtitution and adminiſtration, and in applauſe of " republican equality." If it is poſſible to reduce the paſſage into any thing like regular logic, it amounts to this: Peace could not be ſincerely wiſhed, becauſe onr government is too bad, and the French too good, to have

any connection with each other. The force of this, the 5th argument, depends upon our conviction of the truth of theſe premiſes. It is curious to obſerve, in another part of this declamation, that the general acquieſcence of the people with the meaſures of the government in England, is repreſented as proving the injuſtice of its conduct; on the other hand, the ſame perſons will tell us that the ſalutarineſs of the meaſures of the Directory is evident from the common conſent of their ſubjects. Theſe contradictions might be excuſed in the man who has never been in the habit of conſidering the conſequences and deductions of his arguments, but in Mr. W. they are unpardonable.

Page 28. "6. Laſtly, that recovery "from ſo profound a ſtupefaction, which an "intercourſe with France, in union with a "reflection on the miſeries of an unneceſſary, "ruinous, and fruitleſs war; in addition to "that dreadful diſcloſure of the real ſtate of "our finances, muſt indubitably effect on "every rank of people in this country, makes "a continuance of the preſent miniſters in "office, after a general pacification the "higheſt

" higheſt improbability imaginable. That
" gigantic monſter of miniſterial depravity,
" who has ſtalked abroad with ſuch effron-
" tery, and inſolently defied the loud bluſ-
" terings of martial conflict, will be cer-
" tainly diveſted of his cloak by the gentle
" but ſearching energies of peace. How
" then can they be ſuppoſed deſirous to ac-
" celerate that period, when they ſhall be
" deſpoiled of their power, and left naked to
" popular indignation, after ſo long and un-
" bridled a career of wickedneſs, and ſuch a
" multitude of enormous crimes?"

The plain Engliſh of all this is that, Peace is not deſired by the miniſtry becauſe it would endanger their continuance in office. The very reverſe of this would, in my opinion, be the conſequence of ſuch an event. I have before had occaſion to ſay ſomething on this ſubject, and I perſiſt in thinking that their ſecurity in that particular, if I am to allow this to be their ruling motive, is much more uncertain during war than in eſtabliſhed peace. Mr. W. cannot be ſo unacquainted with the nature of popular opinion, as not to know

that

that were this war always ſucceſsful, was every day brightened by good fortune, and cheered by the ſhouts of victory, this *wicked* and *unneceſſary* war would be the darling object of the people, and the theme of their praiſes, Succeſs they never yet reviled: calamity, only, is error. Ruminating on the hiſtory of ſtrife, and deprecating the horrors of battle, the philoſopher might then retire, unheeded and alone, to his books and to his taper, and ſedulouſly ſeek a nook where he might be ſecure from their inſults, and deaf to their rejoicings. Let a peace be concluded, and you will ſee Mr. Pitt the idol of the nation. The multitude will admire his proſperity: the wiſe will diſcover his prudence.

I have now gone through Mr. W's. "ſtrong preſumptive arguments," reſting on which, he exclaims with a note of admiration at his own triumph,

"So *juſt* and *neceſſary* is this war!"

With whatever complacency Mr. W. may view

view his performance, and whatever "irreſiſt-
"ible cogency" he may have diſcovered in it, I cannot ſuppoſe that any one has been convinced by it of the impropriety of the war: I will nevertheleſs trouble you with a few words on this ſubject, which will probably explain to you why the continuation of the war is *juſt* and *neceſſary*, without conſidering Mr. Pitt, or any other miniſter in the queſtion: for ſuppoſing them wrong, will you ruin yourſelves to puniſh them? The war muſt be continued then, for this plain reaſon: The French will not agree to peace. Mr. W. will deny this, he will tell you they will grant you peace; yes: but on ſuch terms that we may as well be conquered. The peace they would confer, is in fact, a *conqueſt*. Mr. W. and many others tell you, the proper ſteps toward a peace have not been made, you have not changed your adminiſtration. The change would be uſeleſs, becauſe if the new miniſters were men of ſenſe and probity, they would refuſe the terms propoſed as reſolutely as the preſent. I have the fulleſt belief of this, with reſpect to the man whom Mr. W. and the party point out as the proper

per perſon. He would in all probability attempt to negociate, but he would ſpurn at their inſolence as becomes a Briton.

Bishop of Landaff's Address.

" And were there even a bridge over the " channel, France durſt not make an incur- " ſion with half her numbers. She knows " how ready her neighbours would be to re- " venge the injuries they have ſuſtained, how " ready her own citizens would be to regain " the bleſſings they have loſt, could they " once ſee all her forces occupied in a diſ- " tant country."

Mr. W. thinks otherwiſe: before he adverts to the point before us, however, he thinks proper to ridicule the reſiſtance of the Engliſh, " if this feat were indeed accom- " pliſhed."

" The ſolicitude, I trow, of Buona- " parte and his columns (unrivalled captain! " unconquerable heroes!) does not turn

" upon

" upon what numbers we ſhould oppoſe
" againſt him, but how he can get at us.
" No great expectation will be formed of
" Engliſh proweſs on its own ground, with
" all our ſwaggering pretenſions, by thoſe who
" recollect the adventures of about 9000 ra-
" ragamuffin breechleſs loons from Scotland,
" but a few years ago."

Coming, at length, to the point, he ſays:

Page 32. " But however this may ter-
" minate, I conſider that inſinuation of the
" domineering terrors of the French army,
" and a ſecret willingneſs in a conſiderable
" part of the French nation, but for this
" reſtraint, *to return to their vomit*, and re-
" ſtore royalty, as a viſion through the ivory
" gate, a notion perfectly unſubſtantial, con-
" tradicted alike by the teſtimony of travel-
" lers, and undiſputed fact. It is moſt no-
" torious, that the armies of France have
" been the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of re-
" publicaniſm throughout the conflict. Now
" theſe armies were not like ours, a collec-
" tion of the vagabonds and outcaſts of ſo-
" ciety, mere profligate mercenaries, (the

" common men I mean) but a ſelection from
" all orders of citizens by a rigorous requiſi-
" tion; and of courſe may be regarded as an
" adequate and fair repreſentative of the
" whole community. What then, I aſk,
" ſhould have hindered them from reinſtat-
" ing monarchy, had they been ſo per-
" verſely inclined?"

The rigorous requiſition, by means of which, " all orders of citizens" were forced into the armies, muſt have been followed by meaſures as rigorous to compel their ſervice: admitting this, I cannot regard theſe perſons as " fair and adequate" evidences of the inclinations of the community; and I can ſee other motives than their own volition, for being the " moſt ſtrenuous and invariable " ſupporters of republicaniſm." Neither will I allow, that men ſubject to the terrors of military law, either in the ranks, or in the city, are in condition to act as their ſentiments would dictate, their underſtandings ſuggeſt, or hearts imprompt. On the other ſide that men oppreſſed: dragged from their uſual occupations: forced into the fatigues

and

and dangers of battle: impoveriſhed: harraſſed by the conflict of parties: whoſe memories are freſh and filled with acts of outrage: whoſe boſoms with affliction: who have ſeen their parents, their children, their relatives and their friends periſh on the ſcaffold, and trembled for their own ſafety; events that are ſufficient to weary the friend; becauſe private feeling will outweigh public motives; to exaſperate the enemy and rouſe every feeling of revenge: that ſuch would ſeize the moment in which they might "regain the bleſſings they have loſt:" and that the nations who have been awed by the power, and pillaged by the rapacity of the French, would gladly embrace the opportunity of regaining their property, and reſenting their injuries, are two probabilities, than which none can have better foundation. And when we add to this, the fears of the governors who have thus unjuſtly eſtabliſhed themſelves; and with what apprehenſion they muſt ſee themſelves robbed of their only ſupport, the inſtruments of terror, we may ſafely conclude that, "France durſt not make the in-"curſion."

Mr. W. quotes the following Fable and Application from Dr. Croxall's Æsop.

THE SENSIBLE ASS.

An old fellow was feeding an aſs in a fine green meadow; and, being alarmed with the ſudden approach of the enemy, was impatient with the aſs to put himſelf forward, and fly with all the ſpeed he was able. The aſs aſked him, whether or no he thought the enemy would clap two pair of panniers upon his back? The man ſaid, No; there was no fear of that. Why then, ſays the aſs, I will not ſtir an inch: for what is it to me who my maſter is, ſince I ſhall but carry my panniers as uſual?

The Application.

This fable ſhews us, how much in the wrong the poorer ſort of people moſt commonly are when they are under any ſort of concern about the revolutions of a Government. All the alteration, which they can feel, is, perhaps, in the name of their Sovereign,

vereign, or ſome ſuch important trifle: but they cannot well be poorer, nor made to work harder than before.

Fables are uſeful, becauſe they are impreſſive, modes of miſtruction. The mind is attracted by the imagery they aſſume; and the judgment is deceived into an acknowledgment of truth, that had been, perhaps, refuſed if we had recollected that it oppoſed our own intereſts and opinions. We can confine ourſelves to the abſtract queſtion, when its conſequences apply to others; but can hardly avoid blending it with our wiſhes and our prejudices, when theſe are concerned in the enquiry. Beſides: as they do not affect the office of inſtruction, they are admirably adapted for the improvement and conviction of thoſe numerous claſſes, who either avoid as irkſome, or reſent, as a pretenſion to ſuperior endowments, every acknowledged effort of that nature. I am pleaſed therefore with the introduction of this into Mr. W.'s book; and approve their general uſe, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the confident raillery of a modern ſatiriſt,*

Mr. W. has not told us what argument this fable is to ſupport, but from the general deſign of the context, I muſt not pretend ignorance of his real intention. We are at liberty, notwithſtanding, to draw our own inferences; and for this purpoſe let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that you were the aſſes in queſtion, and Mr. W. or any other demagogue, ſhould tell you that the French were deſirous to come and govern you, and that conſiderable benefit would ariſe from this new and foreign domination.

Your panniers are the burthens, the bearing of which enables you to enjoy the bleſſings of ſociety. By theſe exertions you obtain the means of ſecuring your property, your lives, your peace, and your pleaſures. That, after all, theſe ſuffer temporary, and occaſional, interruptions is not to be denied: but were you to compare your ſituation, even

* See the Purſuits of Literature.

with

with all its inconveniencies, with that where, owing to the diſconnectedneſs of the bonds of ſociety, theſe advantages have not been, or are not enjoyed ; were you in the habit of recurring through the medium of books, or converſation, to thoſe times or thoſe nations, where theſe burthens were, or are, indeed, unknown, you would find that ſo far from having cauſe to regret your own circumſtances, you would have infinite reaſon to exult in the good you poſſeſs ; and that your minds would be as juſtly, and, I am ſure, more happily, employed, in the contemplation of your benefits, rather than your grievances.

My countrymen, many who addreſs you with contrary doctrines, are unacquainted with theſe things; and their ignorance is no reproach until they aſſume a taſk for which they are unfit ; others are men of warm and enthuſiaſtic imagination, and they dream of perfection that this world cannot give ; but there are a third claſs who know all this, and wilfully deceive you : theſe would make you the inſtruments by which their own ambi-

tious

tious wiſhes might be gratified. I ſay that were you to compare the conditions of ſociety juſtly, your own would appear as bright in the contraſt with others, as that ideal felicity, with the repreſentations of which they faſcinate you, does in oppoſition to the imperfection of reality. As it is natural, however, to every human being, to remember his cares, rather than the bleſſings that reſult from them, I muſt imagine that, if, as I have premiſed, you were told that the arrival of the French would be productive of much advantage to you, and that therefore it was to your intereſt to aſſiſt their deſign; you would, like the aſs in the fable, and aſſes you would be if you had any ſuch expectations, enquire of this officious declaimer, if the French would take from you your accuſtomed load? Now, though I do not expect that this man would be ingenuous and open enough to apprize you that even his promiſed bleſſings could not be enjoyed but by future generations; and that the expences of the enemy, which after the ſignal ſervices he had rendered you, muſt needs be indemnified with your conſent, or peradventure without it; and that owing to theſe and

the

the other calamities even of ſucceſsful revolution, you muſt then ſubmit to triple burthen, without any additional ſupport than what you might chooſe to appropriate to yourſelves of the wonderful glory you ſhall have acquired. I do not expect that with the bland, but unguarded, ſincerity of Mr. W. he would tell you that his hopes of your deſerting your country; of expoſing your families to famine, to ruin and to death; your fields to rapine; your barns and your ſheep-cotes to plunder; your villages to ſlaughter; your navy to deſtruction; your trade to robbers; and your towns to flames: he would not tell you that his belief of your willingneſs to do all this, this, aye, and ten thouſands other acts of atrocity and madneſs, of wickedneſs and ideotcy, he would not tell you that he hoped all this from your "preſent ſtate of ignorance "and depravity:" he would, not like this man, thus openly, but falſely, libel your virtues, and blaſt your reputation; he would not, more-accompliſhed Deceiver! he would not inſult you at the momen the was aiming your ſeduction; he would not, as this man does, ſneer at your courage, and falſify your fame,

he would not tell you that " no great expec-
" tation is to be formed of Engliſh proweſs
" on its own ground." And if not there, God of juſtice! where ſhould it! He would not, in your preſence, call your foe " matchleſs captain" and the banditti he led, " uncon-
" querable heroes." He would not queſtion if for " native energy and habit, or for
" conciouſneſs of ſuperior ſkill and glorious
" exploits," you might not " be put in com-
" petition with the French, whether of mo-
" dern fame or ancient ſtory?" He would, probably, be more complaiſant, but not more friendly. He could ſcarcely, nevertheleſs, conceal from you that your burthen would be at leaſt equal to what it was before. What anſwer would you make? Would you not emulate the wiſdom of the brute in the fable: " What is it to me who my
" maſter is, ſince I ſhall but carry my pan-
" niers as uſual?"

There is in the " Application," quoted from Dr. Croxall, one conſideration, which I wiſh to recommend to your particular notice. " All the alteration *which they can*
" feel."

"*feel.*" That an *alteration* would take place, if that is all that is wanted, I ſhall not deny; by the bye, it is to be remembered that *alteration* does not imply *improvement*: that this alteration would benefit ſome, as much, I was going to ſay, as much, as it would injure others, but I doubt that: that it might benefit ſome is allowed, but what part of the advantage *can you feel?* I ſpeak of the great maſs of the people. Chance may, indeed, whirl a few into ſituations to the duties of which they are incompetent: it may diſmiſs the fool, and degrade the vicious; it may, in ſome inſtances, raiſe merit to its proper level; it may exalt depreſſed virtue; and, unclinching the grip of the ſordid, may fill the open hand of unwealthy liberality: but think you that all merit will be noticed? all vice repreſſed? and that fortune will not frequently, as heretofore, in malicious vagary "throw a cruel "ſunſhine on a fool?" What particular good can reſult to yourſelves, putting mere lottery-chances out of the queſtion? Have you imagined that ale-houſes will be opened gratuitouſly for your reception? that two-fold wages will be paid you for your work? or, in

the wantonneſs of ſpeculation, have you ſuppoſed that the tenderneſs of your new rulers will exempt you from all labour; and that taking upon themſelves the fatigues of governance, the cares, the anxieties and reſponſibilities of power, they will leave you to enjoy, in liſtleſs idleneſs, the bleſſings their exertions have procured, and their perſevance preſerved. That they will ſpend their nights in planing ſchemes to protect your ſlumbers, and their days in providing your food, and your raiment, nor expect that aſſiſtance, for the common good, which your capacities and ſituations enable you to afford? You will call this romantic: ſo do I: but if theſe, or ſome ſimilar, benefits are not to be the reſult of your ſtruggles, I confeſs that it appears to me a worthleſs and unprofitable cauſe into which you are perſuaded to plunge!

I have warned you before, of one or two ſophiſtical methods by which your deception is carried on. I will mention another. We ſuffer, God knows, and we truſt in God, that it is wiſely we do ſuffer, many evils—ſome we bring upon ourſelves imprudently: but

but almoſt all are liable to be charged upon our own miſconduct, or otherwiſe, agreeably with the caprice of uncertain and individual opinion: and it frequently happens that, even when our neighbours do not accuſe us, yet, half conſcious of our error, we hear with eagerneſs every argument that can juſtify our ſelf-acquittal, and adopt every opinion that can ſupport aſſertions of our innocence, and aſſiſt us to convince others of what we totally diſbelieve ourſelves. Now, to be releaſed at once from theſe inconveniences, to have the ſources of our misfortunes, and the cauſes of our wants pointed out to us in ſome foreign object, upon which we may vent our reproaches, to the indulgence of ſelf-complacency, is a conſideration too ſoothing to be neglected. The farmer would have you ſuppoſe that the ſeaſon deſtroyed the harveſt, rather than his own miſmanagement?

There is yet another reaſon, why you wiſh to believe that the Government is the cauſe of your cares: a *poſſible* proſpect of relief is thus held out to you: and however unreal ſuch a proſpect *may* be, and in this inſtance un-

undoubtedly *is*, it will always engage and attract us. Thus prejudiced by nature, it is wonderful that the doctrines I am cautioning you againſt, find ready admiſſion to your minds? Is it wonderful, alſo, that it ſhould be unpopular to deny the influence of the Government on theſe matters, and thus rob you of a perſuaſion ſo facinating as that, the evils you endure might be removed by its alteration? Yet this is the plain TRUTH. INDUSTRY, under every form of government will be the *ſureſt* road to RICHES; TALENTS will be the beſt recommendation to favour and reward; and VIRTUE moſt conduce to HAPPINESS: yet notwithſtanding, the INDUSTRIOUS, will *frequently* be UNSUCCESFUL; MERIT will be NEGLECTED;—and that from other cauſes than contempt;—and VIRTUE will be involved in CALUMNY and WO. On the other hand, IDLENESS will ſtill be expoſed to WANT; FOLLY to MISFORTUNE and VICE to MISERY: Yet often will the IDLE, PROSPER; the FOOL be ADMIRED; and the VICIOUS, TRIUMPH.

Before I leave this ſubject, in the treating on which, I ſeek rather to ſuggeſt mat-

matters for your own reflection, than to amplify in the examination of them myſelf, becauſe by ſo doing, I ſhould far exceed the bounds I have preſcribed to myſelf in this letter; I will notice one of the principal topics, with reſpect to which, reform is thought neceſſary, and as ſuch is introduced by Mr. W. in a ſubſequent part of his pamphlet.—I allude to HEREDITARY TITLES. Mr. W. ſatisfies himſelf with calling it a "ſtupidity." I recommend to Mr. W. and to you, to examine the propenſities of the human mind: as a collateral enquiry, I could wiſh you to examine that part of Engliſh Hiſtory when Property and Titles firſt became heritable: You will then, I think, convince yourſelves that this "ſtupidity," is moſt wiſe policy, and eſſentially neceſſary to ſociety: it has its evils: but theſe are trifles compared with its advantages. It is the moſt powerful ſtimulus to honourable action; becauſe it confers value on a gift, which, if to be poſſeſſed by the firſt receiver only, would to moſt men be worthleſs. I could adduce many arguments to illuſtrate thoſe I have uſed, but the moſt important in your opinion will

will be that, it forms a ſtrong bulwark of the rights of the people againſt the power of the crown: by creating a ſort of middle ſtate between the ſovereign and the ſubject. The perpetual rivalſhip of monarchy, ariſtocracy and democracy which compoſes the Britiſh conſtitution, keeps each, as nearly as poſſible within its proper bounds. The crown controls the ariſtocracy, the ariſtocracy the crown; and thus the commons eſcape that ſubjection which will always be attempted by the ambitious and the wealthy, whatever name may be aſſumed or beſtowed. Upon the whole, it is a queſtion that may employ the ſpeculative politician: but I am perſuaded that you cannot believe the deciſion, either way, of any importance to your happineſs. If title ſecured vice or folly from cenſure, it might be envied, and it might be miſchievous: but in England, at leaſt, it is but a mark for ridicule, often undeſerved; and a beacon that invites accuſation, from which private guilt is frequently exempt. For, to the cauſes I have already mentioned, Envy may be added as another natural motive for diſaffection to your ſuperiors. Perfection does not exiſt: but

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no *reſemblance* of it was ever ſeen by the falſifying eye of diſapprobation. Merits are leſſened and defects magnified: misfortune becomes error, and error crime: economy is avarice, and liberality profuſion: ſucceſs is accidental, and calamity intended. The invariableneſs of conſequences, is aſſerted, to bring home the charge of guilt: and denied, to contradict the reputation of wiſdom.

Having thus conſidered the fable, Mr. W. has made uſe of, I, in my turn, will call to your recollection, another by the ſame author, of two perſons who diſputing each other's right to an oyſter, referred the diſpute to a third. The moraliſt tells us that this umpire gave each diſputant an empty ſhell, and reſerved the fiſh to himſelf. A ſimilar fate, I apprehend, would befal your conteſted RIGHTS, were you mad enough to ſubmit to French deciſion. Theſe and every thing elſe that you value would be claimed as the fee of your judges: who would leave both winner and loſer to forget their enmity in mutual gratulations of their *equality* of—wretchedneſs.

I have thus followed Mr. W. through the principal part of his pamphlet, and have taken the liberty of ſuggeſting ſuch remarks as preſented themſelves to me in the progreſs. I have before appriſed you, however, that it is the general deſign, and not any particular paſſages of that performance that induced me to call your attention to theſe pages. I have not here undertaken to ſtate the various arguments by which my opinions are ſupported, or the facts in defiance of which thoſe of Mr. W. are maintained: Theſe are already in your hands: but Mr. W. has ſtepped beyond the uſual bounds of party; he has boldly ventured to diſcuſs the queſtion, Whether you ſhall receive with ſubmiſſion the moſt deſpotic, relentleſs, enemy that every deſolated nations; or, by manly reſiſtance, by ſteady adherence to your country, ſecure to yourſelves and to your children a continuance of the bleſſings you enjoy. In the former line of conduct he has promiſed you the benefit of his own example. You will do well to recollect that indifferent as the event may be to Mr. W. it will not be ſo to you. Valuing "only his life and his books," he, in either caſe, may

may proſecute his ſtudies with ſtoic diſregard of his country's fortunes: ſecluded from the ſcene of action, and regardleſs of the iſſue, he may

Hear, and but hear, the human tempeſt roar!

But you have other intereſts. The deſtruction of your trade, which is the chief object of the Directory, will rob you and your families of maintenance. The plunder of your houſes, and the deſtruction of your harveſts will involve you in miſery, for which all the empty ſchemes of impracticable improvement will afford no compenſation. Impracticable I call them, becauſe, if, when men tell you of your grievances, and propoſe remedies for your adoption, you gave yourſelves leiſure for diſcriminative reflection, you would perceive that, it is not in the nature of things that the evils ſhould be removed by the means they propoſe. Yet, for theſe untried fancies, you are perſuaded to abandon all that has hitherto been admired as wiſe, and approved itſelf as uſeful. Mr. W. would perſuade you, too, that you are more wretched than any on the

" habitable globe." Is he ſerious? is he in earneſt when he talks thus? Or does he make uſe of your names only

To point a moral, and adorn a tale?

Let him caſt his eye on any nation under Heaven, and point out the ſpot where every neceſſary, comfort, and luxury of life, is more plentifully and more generally enjoyed than in Britain! Let him tell where, and in what happy precinct, juſtice is more purely dealt than in Britain! Where want is ſooner relieved, oppreſſion puniſhed, and honeſty rewarded than in Britain! Alas! Alas! we know too well, and, in the midſt of our own proſperity, we never forgot to regret it, that no people whatever poſſeſs their full privileges like ourſelves. I feel no heſitation in aſſerting this, and I challenge contradiction with confidence. We are accuſtomed to look with pleaſure at man in what is called his natural condition—but this is an inaccuracy of language, for he is every where ſubjected to ſome artificial uſages—yet the idea being aſſociated with that of NATURE, for in this conſiſts the charm,

charm, it appears to us facinating and enviable. But examine man in this ſituation cloſer, and you ſhall find him groaning under the capricious tyranny of chiefs; bleeding for their quarrels; and tortured by their cruelty. If then the iſlands of the Pacific, nor the continent of Africa, nor of the New World, afford the happineſs you have imagined; extend your reſearches, and ſee if the plains of Hindooſtan, if the Gentoo, if the diſciple of Brahma, venerable names! if they enjoy it! Diſatisfied ſtill, aſk to change with the ſlave of the Baſhaw, the Sultan, or the Sophi! Or, if theſe ſultry regions debilitate the mind, and rivet the fetter, purſue your enquiries—Aſk of the Ruſs, and the German, whether they are bleſt like you? Look carefully into the more temperate and civilized diſtricts of neighbouring Europe —Nay—I will ſtand the teſt—ſcrutinize modern France.—The land of Liberty!—There, ſurely, ſuperior bleſſings muſt exiſt. She has earned them dearly! Blood, and tears, and famine, ſhe gave for them! And yet the utmoſt ſhe may reaſonably hope is that at ſome diſtant period, many a long year hence, ſhe may equal you! You, who have all the liberty

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an honeſt man can make uſe of! That you do not poſſeſs all the natural rights of man I readily allow: but the firſt principles of ſocial compact is an abridgement of thoſe rights. Men agree not to plunder others that they may not be plundered themſelves; not to kill that their own lives may be ſecure. And one of the greateſt atchievements of human prudence is, that men agree not to revenge their own wrongs: and having yielded up this *natural* right, they mutually agree to guarantee each other's welfare: to puniſh the agreſſor: to ſuccour the weak: and to control the ſtrong. Here is a noble triumph over *natural* privilege: by which the deſtructive dogma of power is reverſed: inſtead of *might is right—right is might!* Theſe and ten thouſand other bleſſings you poſſeſs! Theſe and ten thouſand others bleſſings France would wreſt from you! She tells you that it is not you, but your government ſhe would deſtroy.—Aſk her what ſhe means by your government? She means your Glory, your Power, your Wealth, your Peace, your Happineſs!—this is what ſhe underſtands by *your government*, and ſhe conſtrues rightly: for it is the ſource

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and it is the protection of them all! *Divide et impera* is her maxim; but you are aware of the manœuvre: and you will by your unanimity, your reſolution, your prudence and your valour, ſecure what, in the madneſs of her envy, and intoxication of conqueſt, ſhe is deſperate enough to think of attacking! That ſhe will ever attempt it I much doubt: but were ſhe raſh enough, I am not uneaſy about your ſucceſs. You will give to hiſtory the proudeſt event ſhe ever recorded. You will leave to the wondering world a magnificent monument of your glory: a Nation ſtanding ſecure amid the concuſſion of Europe: defying aſſault, and unacquainted with defeat!

LONDON, *Feb.* 15. 1798.

FINIS.